Migrant Workers in the UK Sex Industry (RES-062-23-137) – Research Report

Background

In an environment of increasing labour migration, ever more restrictive immigration policy and globalised capitalism that favours ‘flexible’ workers, migrants have come to form the majority of those who sell sex. Debates on migration and the sex industry are often characterised by an ethnicist anti-migrant discourse, by an almost exclusive focus on women, as well as by a marked emphasis on trafficking and exploitation. In the UK, the Home Office is promoting new prostitution strategies aimed at reducing the exploitation of women by criminalising clients and by closing down commercial sex premises, even if only suspected to be linked to sexual exploitation. These new measures were being discussed in the UK Parliament and informed public debates while the research was carried out, which influenced both its findings and its impact. In this context, mapping sex businesses and females employed in London (Poppy Project 2004) and highlighting the incidence of exploitation in the UK sex industry became the main focus of research initiatives informed by an abolitionist ethos (Poppy Project 2008) and whose ethical and scientific standards were highly disputed by the academic community (UKNSWP 2009). The project aimed at providing much needed evidence about the specific trajectories of migrant workers in the UK sex industry, by departing from and complementing a research tradition that focused on street female sex workers as a population vulnerable to drug abuse and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and, increasingly, on migrant women working in the sex industry as victims of exploitation.

Aims and Objectives

The main aim of the project as stated in the original proposal was to improve the understanding of the links between the sex industry and migration in order to:

- Contribute to the elaboration of more effective policies and initiatives of social intervention on migration, prostitution, 'trafficking' and social exclusion.
- Improve current public and academic debates on issues of migration, prostitution, 'trafficking' and criminality.
- Produce an innovative, subject-oriented and ethical framework for studying vulnerable populations.

The main objective of the research was to secure 100 qualitative interviews, according to three main axes of diversity: gender/sexuality (women/men transgender people), different jobs within the sex industry (both of a sexual and non-sexual nature), and the main regions of origin (Eastern Europe, Latin America, EU, Russia, etc.) of the subjects involved.

The first two aims listed above were met by:

- gathering the 100 in depth interviews according to the three main dimensions of diversity (gender, job in the sex industry and area of origin) foreseen by the original proposal;
- presenting the research findings at relevant academic meetings and at strategic policy-relevant events (further details available under the Activities and the Dissemination sections of the End of Award Report);
- organising the end of project launch of the research findings at the Graduate Centre of London Metropolitan University on 10 July 2009;

- preparing and sending out three differently targeted press releases in the two weeks preceding and in the one following the end of project launch;

- preparing a short ‘First Findings’ summary of the main results in July 2009, which was disseminated to all the participants and invitees to the project’s final event, including extensive listings of academic and non academic users;

- preparing a ‘Final Policy-Relevant Report’ (Nominated Output 1), which was advertised and distributed through the main networks of governmental, non-governmental and international organisations and institutions concerned with trafficking, migration, prostitution, harm-reduction and social exclusion at UK, European and international levels. The report was also posted on ISET’s (Institute for the Study of European Transformations) website and circulated through London Metropolitan University’s extensive links with policymakers, academics and social intervention projects.

The end of project launch of the research findings was held at the Graduate Centre of London Metropolitan University on 10 July 2009. The main findings of the research were presented to an audience of over 100 attendants, including established and junior academics, practitioners working for NGOs, statutory bodies (Home Office, UK Border Agency, UK Human Trafficking Centre, Greater London Authority) the media, the Police, individual sex workers and organisations representing their rights. A list of the main non-academic participants is available in Annex 1.

As far as the impact on non academic users is concerned, the research findings have informed media, public and political debates (more details are available under the Activities heading) and significantly improved their evidence base. As far as the academic debate is concerned, interviewees’ nuanced understandings and practices of exploitation already inform an innovative analysis of the intersubjective and gendered dynamics intervening between female sex workers and their partners. This is the main topic of the ‘Subaltern Mobilities: a post (anti)trafficking perspective’ article, the second main project output. Its evidence-based and innovative analysis will advance the academic understanding of the intricacy of consent and coercion shaping the personal and professional lives of migrants working in the sex industry, with particular reference to issues of exploitation and trafficking. The analyses and evidence produced by the research, its outputs and its planned academic publications will advance the scientific knowledge on the specific migration patterns, gender and sexuality dynamics, networks and the forms of social inclusion and exclusion concerning migrant workers in the UK sex industry.

Finally, the project produced an innovative, subject-oriented and ethical framework for studying vulnerable populations. Its delivery required a very considerate approach, which was further improved during the research by introducing measures increasing the safety of researchers, the possibility of rewarding interviewees with money, as well as the adoption of a community participative and ethnographic approach (see sections on Methods and Ethics). The methodological implications of the project will inform a peer-reviewed journal article, to be co-authored by the PI and Dr Linda Cusick, Reader in Substance Abuse at the University of West Scotland and member of the project advisory board.
Methods

The project aimed at capturing the lived experiences and personal networks of people who migrate and work in the sex industry, conceiving migration as a process involving adaptation to changing environments. We decided to focus on London as it was the site that offered the maximum variety of jobs in the sex industry, migration trajectories and the associated countries of origin. The sample was composed through a combination of random and purposive criteria, in order to achieve a high degree of representativeness while ensuring that all the most relevant dimensions and experiences were included. This means that the evidence gathered allows the research to produce scientific generalisations, albeit not of a strictly statistical nature.

The project departed from and complemented a research tradition focusing on (mainly street) sex workers as vulnerable to drug abuse and STIs and on migrant women working in the sex industry as vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation, by adopting a migration studies perspectives - an interdisciplinary field studying the economic, political, social and cultural causes and effects of population movements and incorporating diverse perspectives and theories (Massey et al 1993: 432). As a result, the guidelines for the semi-structured interviews addressed interviewees’ involvement in the sex industry. They included their perceptions and experiences of exploitation and advantage, in the context of their broader life, migration and work trajectories and the way these involved processes of uprooting, finding one’s way, using one’s own social and cultural capital, experimenting and adapting to changing circumstances.

The project initially aimed at completing its sample predominantly by constructing multiple ‘snowballs’, the most realistic for ‘hidden populations’ (Lambert 1990) and also one providing a theoretically relevant target (Cusick, Martin and May 2003) that would be consistent with the overall project design. We were careful to contact interviewees directly, avoiding all intermediaries and gatekeepers, in order to maximise interviewees’ safety and to guarantee their ability to speak freely. Interviewees were approached through the commercial contacts available on telephone boots cards, newspapers ads and internet sites. Other entry points included the UK branch of the International Union of Sex Workers (IUSW), the English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP), migrant cultural centres and other sites frequented by migrants (eg, cafes, kebab shops, phonecall shops), universities (to reach out to students) and migrant and sex-working acquaintances. In each case, we identified the most appropriate means to approach migrants, which included: setting up user profiles of the project within sex work internet sites, the preparation and distribution of targeted leaflets according to different venues, direct phone calls, and approaching migrant workers directly in walk ups, where they tend to work alone.

Problems that arose during the early phase of the study (more details in the Major difficulties section) meant that a revised methodological approach was needed in order to deliver the research because snowballing from existing or newly established contacts was more difficult than was anticipated during the preparation of the proposal. Interviewees pointed out that the one-off nature of our contacts and the fact that we did not offer any monetary acknowledgement for their contribution were detrimental to their participation. These limitations became particularly evident between February and April 2009, when the combined impact of the deployment of the anti-trafficking Pentameter operation and Westminster Council’s decision to close down several commercial sex establishments meant that most interviewees felt subject to a general crackdown on the sex industry and refused contributing to our study. These difficulties were successfully addressed by complementing the original methodology with a community-based participative approach, by training and employing peer research assistants with specific working experiences in and with the sex industry, by rewarding interviewees with money and by embedding the interviewing process in a multi-sited ethnography.
As far as the community-based approach (Wahab and Sloan 2004: 5) is concerned, we trained and employed as research assistants three researchers (two female and one male) with a postgraduate qualification in social sciences and/or with specific experience of working with sex workers (or in the sex industry). The researchers worked under the co-ordination of the PI and were selected according to their knowledge of specific sectors, languages and groups within the sex industry, thus also enabling some interviews to be conducted in the language spoken by interviewees. The combined linguistic skills of the PI and of the 4 researchers meant that we were able to offer migrant workers the possibility of being interviewed in a variety of languages, including: Albanian, French, English, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. The community-based approach enabled researchers working in and for the sex industry to acquire skills, resources (including money) and the possibility of self-representation in a research context. It was also an ethically sustainable way for the project to have access to situations and networks which would be out of reach otherwise, thus ‘overcoming sampling and privacy’ concerns (Shaver 2005: 305). Moreover, the direct involvement in the research of people working with or in the sex industry was a unique chance for the interview guidelines to be enriched by their own experiences and knowledge.

The decision to offer a token acknowledgement of £50 per interview was a way to reward participants for their contributions to the research with time and vital information. Rewarding interviewees with money is an established practice in contemporary research settings in the UK. Although there is a gap in income between people working at the lower (street) and higher (independent escorts) ends of the sex industry, we judged that offering £50 for an interview lasting an average of one hour (not including transportation time and costs) would not contradict the principle of informed consent nor would it exert undue or excessive influence on potential participants, according to the principle that the amount offered should be ‘more or less comparable with that available through other similar unskilled moneymaking opportunities in the relevant community’ (Grady 2001: 43). We felt that the suggested amount would provide subjects with a reasonable valorisation of their intellectual contribution to the research and of their time (McKeganey 2001: 1237-8). The acknowledgement was given in cash rather than through vouchers as many interviewees had a vulnerable migration status and might have felt unsafe or uncomfortable when using them.

Finally, the team composed of the PI and the researchers engaged in a multi-sited ethnographic observation of strategic places and venues within the London sex industry. The purpose of the ethnographic observation was to establish a regular presence in the field that would enable the PI and the RAs to become close enough to (and trusted enough by) potential interviewees to actually ask for an interview or to indicate other potential subjects. Secondly, the ethnographic observation of selected working places allowed the research team to note behaviours and dynamics in place and to complement observation of websites and bulletin boards used by the sex work community, in line with the notion of ‘layered access’ (Sanders 2005: 23), which was recently developed in relation to research on sex work in the UK. The PI and the researchers took detailed ethnographic notes of the field and of the interview progress. These were transcribed and analysed according to the same analytical framework which was used for the interview notes.

The vast majority of interviewees were randomly approached through their commercial contacts, rather than through sex work support projects, in order to make sure that we would contact them directly and not through gatekeepers, that we could maximise the representativeness of the research sample; and to potentially tap into different strata than those captured by existing research. In a second phase, given the increased prominence given in public and academic
debates to issues of exploitation, we co-operated with the Police and selected sex work support projects in order to purposively interview a larger number of people with experiences of trafficking and exploitation than might have naturally occurred through the random method. In all of these cases we ensured that same ethical standards and methodological approaches informing the research were guaranteed to the few interviewees who were not contacted directly. During the undertaking of the research we discovered that the vast majority of interviewees were using NHS mainstream health services and those offered by sex work support projects. This means that our results can be compared with those of research projects contacting interviewees uniquely or mainly through these services.

Field notes, interview notes and self-reflexive observations of the interview settings were taken, transcribed immediately after each interview and organised within an online Excel spreadsheet accessible only by the members of the research team. Data was analysed by the PI in consultation with the research assistants according to the themes and subthemes embodied in the original research questions. Data on gender, ethnicity, age, country of origin, other-country experience, housing and legal status was analysed, as well as narrative material.

Results

The research evidence shows a great variety of work and life trajectories within the sex industry, which were influenced by key factors such as: social-economic background; educational aspirations and achievements; immigration status; professional and language skills; gender and sexuality; family history; and individual emotional history.

The project delivered 100 semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews according to the three main axes of diversity addressed by the original proposal: gender (male, female, transgender), jobs in the sex industry and areas of origin. The sample that resulted includes 67 women, 24 men and 9 transgender people. The main areas of origin of interviewees are Eastern Europe (46, including 32 from new EU access countries), Latin America (22), EU (18, pre-2004 EU member states), followed by Asia (8) and the remaining interviewees from Australia, Jamaica and the US. Female interviewees tended to work as flat workers, independent escorts and strippers, while men and transgender people tended to work as independent escorts, with a minority of men working in flats. About 10 per cent of interviewees had non-sexual jobs; these included women working as maids and men working as card boys.

Socio-economic background, pre-migration working lives and reasons to migrate

The pre-migration social, economic and cultural circumstances of interviewees range from relative privilege to poverty, their pre-migration working experience varies from no experience to having had multiple and skilled positions, while their family backgrounds range from a minority of problematic to a majority of stable situations.

Interviewees migrate for a variety of interrelated reasons, including: taking up a job opportunity; improving their and their families’ living conditions; completing their studies in the UK; learning English; living in a country associated with freedom, prosperity and opportunities; paying off debts contracted at home; escaping war, homophobia or patriarchal oppression; living more rewarding and pleasurable lifestyles; making new experiences away from home; and joining their partners or their relatives and friends living in the UK. Most interviewees migrate to re-start a project of social mobility which became unviable at home, as the decision to migrate is based on the perception of a lack of opportunities of personal and professional development at home, with particular reference to the field of education. In this respect, the UK is often seen as a place offering opportunities for economic, social and cultural self-advancement. In most cases the UK
is chosen as the preferred migration destination because of the perceived possibility to find work and earn better wages. However, in some cases migrating to the UK is a practical compromise between more ambitious destinations, in particular the US, and the availability of contacts, a support network and work opportunities in the UK and/or in other EU countries.

The Role of Networks
Networks of friends, family and partners play a key role in providing information about the occupational opportunities available in the UK, as well as the economic support to obtain documents, transport and access to the labour market. The possibility to access a support network, usually through a partner, a friend or an extended family member, determines the first steps toward finding places to live and work once in the UK and this initial network affiliation often remains a crucial reference for the migrant well after the initial moment. Once in the UK, work within and outside the sex industry becomes a key arena of socialisation for migrants and the starting point for new networks accompanying their longer term migratory projects. In some cases, client-based networks become essential in building livelihood strategies outside of (and alternative to) the sex industry.

Experiences of Work in the UK
Most migrants did not work in the sex industry before coming to the UK and decide to do so after a long string of work experiences in other sectors, which are seen as comparatively less rewarding both in terms of remuneration and of the working conditions offered. The majority of interviewees are introduced to the possibility of working in the sex industry through friends and colleagues they meet in other settings and decide to take up the opportunity after they see positive examples in their everyday lives, both when they were home and in the country of origin. Working in the sex industry is seen as a better option than those available in the UK by most interviewees, who base their perception on the comparison with other less rewarding working experiences in non-sexual sectors. In this respect, the research evidence shows that the sex industry is seldom the only or the last option for migrant workers, whose skills, priorities and needs are not equally met and valued in other sectors.

The stigma associated with sex work is the main problem for almost all interviewees, who feel it has negative implications for their private and professional lives. Most interviewees complain that they find it difficult to reconcile working in the sex industry and having stable romantic relationships and that having to lead a double life with their partners, families and friends impacts negatively on their wellbeing. A majority of interviewees also underline the way the stigma associated to sex work legitimises violence against sex workers from a small minority of clients and from petty criminals. Regardless of their gender and job differentiation, many interviewees feel that the combination of the stigmatisation of sex work and lack of documentation makes them more vulnerable to violence and abuse while at work. Fear of violence and abuse is mainly associated with robberies, not clients, the majority of whom are described as respectful and considerate.

Almost all interviewees feel that the most advantageous aspects of their involvement in the sex industry are the possibility to earn considerably more money than in other sectors, the availability of time and the possibility to meet interesting people, travel and experience new and challenging circumstances. In most cases by working in the sex industry migrants are able to bridge an important gap in their aspirations to social mobility and feel that they are able to enjoy better living and working conditions. The interplay between lack of English language skills, immigration legal status and access to personal networks defines the range of opportunities available to migrant workers in their private as well as in their professional lives, within and outside the context of the sex industry.
Most interviewees enjoy respectful and friendly relations with colleagues and clients, although some reported problematic clients and employers, who were disrespectful, aggressive or abusive. The possibility of being safe and enjoying positive working and interpersonal relations with colleagues and clients differentiates positive from negative experiences of work, rather the possibility of working in the sex industry or in non-sexual sectors. The research evidence gathered clearly shows that perceptions and experiences of the advantages of working in the sex industry are grounded in circumstances, priorities and needs which are meaningful for migrants because they are embedded within their moral, socio-economic and cultural references.

**Focus on sexual exploitation**

Contrary to the emphasis given in current public debates about cases of trafficking and exploitation, nine women out of a total of 67 female interviewee felt they had been subject to different forms of exploitation, amounting to approximately 13 per cent of the overall female sample. This quota includes very different perceptions and experiences of exploitation, ranging from extreme cases of trafficking to relatively more consensual arrangements. Only four women out of a total of 67 female interviewees, amounting to approximately 6 per cent of the female sample, felt that they had been deceived and forced into selling sex in circumstances in which they had no share of control or consent. The research findings strongly suggest that vulnerability, particularly to trafficking and exploitation, is the result of the convergence of several different factors, including: the stigma attached to sex work; the availability of personal networks in the UK and in the country of origin; the necessity to flee hardship situations in the country of origin; the lack of awareness of the rights available to exploited migrants in the UK; attitudes towards the Police and the lack of English language skills. Immigration legal status is the most important single factor engendering migrant workers’ vulnerability to exploitation in the UK sex industry. In some cases, exploitative situations are underpinned by feelings of allegiance and loyalty which are embedded in romantic relationships between women and their male partners. This highlights that perceptions and experiences of advantage/disadvantage, abuse and exploitation need to be understood in the context of the personal, affective and socio-economic circumstances of each interviewee.

Anti-trafficking policies and initiatives are seen as effective and necessary only by the minority of interviewees who felt that they had been deceived and forced into selling sex in circumstances in which they had no share of control or consent. At the same time, the research evidence shows that targeted anti-trafficking interventions contribute to the empowerment of migrant workers when they are not informed primarily by the priorities of immigration control and criminal investigation. The findings also show that in order for policies and initiatives of social intervention to be efficient and empowering, they need to be informed by an understanding of exploitation which is grounded within the complexity of migrant workers’ circumstances.

**Activities**

As the discussion of the Policing and Crime Bill 2009 coincided with the research fieldwork and highlighted the relevance of the research findings for policymaking, policy-relevant activities and outputs were prioritised over academic ones (A list of planned academic publications is available in Dissemination section of the End of Award Report). The research findings were presented at a number of strategic academic and policy relevant events and through the organisation of the following activities:

- Submission of policy-relevant preliminary findings to the parliamentary Scrutiny Committee of the Policing and Crime Bill 2009 in February 2009.

- Presentation of selected research findings on the implication of the new measures foreseen by the Policing and Crime Bill at a meeting organised by the International Union of Sex Workers at the House of Commons on 11 February 2009, which saw the participation of several MPs from all the main political parties, as well as of practitioners from sex work support projects.

- Presentation of the first findings of the research at the ‘Stopping Traffick 09’ conference held in London on 4 March 2009, which saw the participation of relevant stakeholders and non-academic users from the worlds of UK politics, social intervention and policymaking.

- Meeting with Baroness Sue Miller at the House of Lords to report on research findings in June 2009.

- Presentation of part of the final research findings at the Association of Chief Police Officers - ACPO National Vice Conference 2009 held in Cheltenham on 29 and 30 June 2009.

- Meeting with the head of the Acumen anti-trafficking police intelligence unit about the findings of the research and possibilities of future co-operation in follow-on research on trafficking and exploitation, at London Metropolitan University on 25 August 2009.

- Presentation of the final research findings at the project closing event held at the Graduate Research Centre of London Metropolitan University on 10 July 2009.

- Presentation of the paper ‘Migrant Workers in the UK Sex Industry: a community participative approach’ at the conference ‘The Academy and Activism’, held at the University of Brighton on 14 September 2009. The paper was part of a panel organised by Kate Hardy, one of the researchers.

- Presentation of the paper ‘Subaltern Mobilities: a post (anti)trafficking perspective’ at the ‘Gender in Movement’ international conference, held in at the University of Paris between 30 September and 2 October 2009.

- Presentation of the paper ‘Migrant Workers in the UK Sex Industry: ethical and methodological implications’ at the ESRC-funded workshop ‘Methodological issues in capturing and understanding experiences of migration’, held at the University of Swansea on 7 October 2009.

- Participation in a discussion on the impact of the Policing and Crime Bill 2009 on sex workers, organised by the English Collective of Prostitutes at their London premises on 17 October 2009.

- Presentation of the policy implications of the final findings of the research at the UK Network of Sex Work Projects –UKNSWP ‘Research, Practice and Funding: how to survive in the current climate’ conference held in Manchester on 22 October 2009.
Outputs

The research produced the following outputs:

1) 100 in-depth semi-structured interviews with 67 women, 24 men and 9 transgender migrants working in all the main jobs available in the London sex industry and from the most relevant areas of origin. We have received an exemption from the Economic and Social Data Service (ESDS) regarding data deposit requirements, in consideration of the ethical implications of the research and of the necessity to protect its subjects. Please find the original ESDS letter granting the exemption in Annex 2.

2) The project website, which was updated regularly on the progress and preliminary findings of the research. [http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research-units/iset/projects/esrc-migrant-workers.cfm](http://www.londonmet.ac.uk/research-units/iset/projects/esrc-migrant-workers.cfm)

3) Three targeted press releases which were disseminated to all the main UK newspapers, radio and television networks by London Metropolitan University’s press office in the two weeks preceding and in the one following the end of project launch.

4) The project’s closing event on 10 July 2009, which was held at the Graduate Centre of London Metropolitan University.

5) The ‘First Findings’ short document.

6) The video recorded presentation of the research results at the project’s closing event on 10 July 2009.

7) The ‘Subaltern Mobilities: a post (anti)trafficking perspective’ article, which was submitted to the Global Networks journal in October 2009 (Nominated Output 2).

8) The 28,000 words ‘Final Policy-Relevant Report’ (Nominated Output 1).

The ‘First Findings’ short document, the video recorded presentation of the research results at the project’s closing event on 10 July 2009 and the ‘Final Policy-Relevant Report’ are all available on the project webpage.

Impacts

The research was of great interest to policymakers and projects supporting sex workers, as it appears from the range of initiatives the PI was invited to participate in and contribute to, which are listed in the Dissemination and in the Activities sections of the End of Award Report. Besides these initiatives, the following events are perhaps the most relevant examples of the impact of the research on key non academic users, such as the political community and the public audience.

The findings informed the Parliamentary discussion of the Policing and Crime Bill 2009 on 1 July 2009. The transcription of the debate is available online at the following address: [http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200809/ldhansrd/text/90701-0007.htm](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200809/ldhansrd/text/90701-0007.htm)
The research results were mentioned in an important article by Nick Davies, which was published on The Guardian on 20 October 2009. The article is available online at the following address: http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/oct/20/trafficking-numbers-women-exaggerated

An interview with the PI featured in the ‘Newsnight’ BBC programme, also on 20 October 2009.

Following the presentation of the findings of the research at the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) Vice conference in June 2009, the head of the Acumen police intelligence unit and several members of the UK Network of Sex Work Project expressed their interest in cooperating in future follow-on initiatives, including the possibility to disseminate the findings to key policymakers, stakeholders and practitioners at a local level and to undertake more research focused on the specificity of trafficking and exploitation.

Future Research Priorities

In order to further disseminate the research findings to relevant local and national user groups, to respond to their interest in the results and to corroborate its policy-relevance we will apply for an ESRC follow-on grant, in co-operation with the UK Network of Sex Work Projects and selected intelligence units of the UK police. The project will foresee further research specifically targeting the issue of trafficking and exploitation in the UK sex industry. It will involve user groups in the identification of the research questions, methods and in its implementation, where ethically sustainable. It will deliver existing and new results to key user groups such as: sex work support project practitioners; local, regional and national policy makers; and police departments targeting exploitation in the sex industry. The two main aims of the project will be identifying shared indicators of exploitation between practitioners, the police, and the sex working population and suggesting priorities and protocols of intervention at a national, regional and local level, in order to reduce the vulnerability to exploitation of migrant and non migrant workers in the UK sex industry.

Ethics

The project was informed by a subject-centred approach. We have adhered throughout to the British Sociological Association’s guidelines on ethical practice, which we complemented with extra measures to maximize the safety and anonymity of interviewees and interviewers, as well as their exchange during the research process. The community-participative and ethnographic approach adopted by the research required multiple dimensions of reflexivity on the relations between interviewees and interviewers and on the relations within the research team. These were attended to by organising regular meetings in which subjective and intersubjective dynamics were addressed and interpreted. The research developed an innovative, subject-oriented and ethical framework for studying vulnerable and hidden populations, whose methodological implications were presented at two seminars on research methodologies and will inform a peer-reviewed journal article (more details are available in the Dissemination section of the End of Award Report).
References


